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[For information on the execution of a chief's wives at his funeral, see Category 768.]

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On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

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TONGAN RELIGION

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published (26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and others.

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the characteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott.

PULOTU

Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern informants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to the earth.

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the underworld, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Pulotu Tetc, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from Watkin (61):

> They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

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Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the perpetrator's soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa. Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime. The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died.

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the belief that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu. . . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples.

So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in certain animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with conversational abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no manifestation of animism.

Independent of the *tuuola*, or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Pulotu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *kumo papalangi* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

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his head on his left shoulder caught hold of his bamboo pillow with his right hand ready to strike the rat as soon as it came within reach. Slowly, but with a seeming purpose, the rat crept down the post and suddenly with a swing of his pillow Hina's father hit the rat fair and square. He got up to look for it but nothing could be found, not even a blood stain and yet he struck the rat. At the same time the wailing (*tangi*) announcing death arose in the house where Hina's mother was. 774

"Well, Latu," I asked, "what had the rat to do with it?" He gave me a withering glance of contempt, lit another match, and answered in tense tones. "That rat, Tama, was the spirit of Hina's mother coming to bid her child farewell."

The other day a man called Fine was riding from Pukotala to here (Haano) and just inside this town he had to pass the graveyard known as Hokihoki or Tukia, where his cousin, Tukia, the son of Vake—mentioned elsewhere, lay buried. The pony took a sudden fright at something and started to bolt, with the result that Fine got knocked off and rendered unconscious. His version of the accident is as follows, "I was coming along gently from Pukotala and just as I was passing Hokihoki, Tukia rose up, caught hold of the bridle and dragged the horse along, when suddenly he gave me a blow on the side of my head and I knew no more. I must have done Tukia some injury when he was alive or have spoken evilly of him since he was dead, but I do not remember." The people here firmly believe that Fine was knocked off by ghosts, and in broad daylight too. 775

In July 1909, William Maealiuaki, Governor of Haapai, was taken sick in Lifuka. The so called medico wasn't sure if it was paralysis or heart disease! But anyhow, one midday the Governor called out that somebody had entered the window and was pulling the mosquito curtain down. His wife rushed into the room, but nobody was there, but standing on the grass plot in front of the house was a man dressed in guardsman's uniform. The figure had its back to the woman and as she moved forward it vanished. Since Maealiuaki's death the natives have it, that evil spirits were the cause of his death. This same vision also scared a woman who should have gone to the funeral and remained there afterwards with the widow, as is the Tongan custom, but neglected to do so. On the day of the funeral she was surprised to see a man standing at her doorway; half frightened, she closed the door in the intruder's face, only to see it appear immediately at the door on the other side of the house. That decided her, she packed off post haste to the funeral. [761]

When I told the natives in the town of Fakakakai of the Governor's death, they said, "The mist on the water this morning was a sure sign." And so it holds in Tonga: to see a mist on the sea in the early morning forbodes the death of some high chief. 763 821

DIVINATION

A number of terms apply to divination. To forewarn, to premonish is *talakeikapa*. The predicting of future success or failure by appropriate incidents taken as signs is *talotalo*. For instance, a medical practitioner calls to treat a sick boy, finds him asleep. "Oh!" says the practitioner, "his sleeping is my *talo*. I shall cure the boy." The ability to foretell, a sort of inward light, is *kikite*. It differs from mana, but is allied to dreaming (*misi*) in character. Something (a spirit or god, one informant thought) comes to the diviner (*tongafisi*) and tells him what will happen tomorrow 787

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A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [164]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. [835]

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) [837]

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) [828]

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. [825] [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 787 [761]

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. [755]

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 775

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following: 763 775

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." [165]

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727 the casks in the hold; iron being a most valuable commodity to them. During these operations the ground tier of oil, the hoops being knocked off the casks, burst out, and suffocated eight of the natives. In consequence of this great discharge of oil, the water in the hold was covered with it, to the depth of two feet. Two men, who had struggled out of this body of water and oil, strongly expressed their amazement (as they afterwards explained themselves to Mr. Mariner, when he understood their language) at the difficulty they experienced in rising through the oil: they could swim in the water below easily enough, but as soon as they emerged from the water into the stratum of oil above, the less specific gravity of the latter rendered their ascent difficult. They comprehended the reason, however, very well, as soon as he had learned the language sufficiently to explain it to them. Three other men were at the same time severely wounded, by some butts bursting out on them while they were in the act of knocking off the hoops.

727 634 689 761 Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed in cutting out the iron fid from the main top-gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow, whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved to put a stop to his work; so speaking to a Sandwich islander, who

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was amusing himself on deck by firing off his musket*, he bade him try to bring that man down from aloft: without the least hesitation he levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down dead: the shot entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased at the facility with which it was done. When Mr. Mariner understood the language, he asked the king how he could be so cruel as to kill the poor man for so trifling a fault: his majesty replied that he was only a low, vulgar fellow (a cook); and that neither his life nor death was of any consequence to society†.

On Tuesday, the 9th of December, it being spring-tides, the ship floated, and was warped in to low water mark. In the evening they set fire to her, in order to get more easily afterwards at the iron work. All the great guns on board were loaded, and as they began to be heated by the general conflagration they went off, one after another, producing a terrible panic among all the natives. Mr. Mariner was, at

* The Sandwich islanders are pretty well acquainted with the use of fire-arms: their chief had, at that time, 2000 stand of muskets, procured at different times from American ships.

† The lower orders are thought to have no souls, and a cook is considered the most vulgar profession among them; while a carpenter is esteemed the most respectable.

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and drest after the warlike manner of the Fiji islands. They paraded up and down for some time, brandishing their clubs and spears, and exhibiting a sort of sham fight. Finow sat with several other chiefs in the house on the *maláï**. Each warrior of note ran singly close up to Finow, and striking his club violently on the ground, cried out "this is the club for ——," mentioning the name of some individual enemy whom he meant particularly to seek out and engage; others running up in the same way, exclaimed, "Fear not, Finow; no sooner shall "we land at Tonga than here is the club with "which I will kill any one who dares to oppose "us." Finow and the chiefs thanked them for their sentiments of love and loyalty, and then he addressed them in a speech to the following purpose: "Be brave in battle; fear not death: "it is far better to die in war than to live to "be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lin-"gering disease."

After remaining a day and a night at this island, they again put to sea with the additional force of six canoes, and made sail for Namooca, where they arrived in a few hours. Here they

* The *maláï* is a grass-plat, about three acres in extent, with a house on it, and is used for various public purposes, as in the present instance; there are generally four or five of them on each island. As Vavnoo is comparatively a large island, it has fourteen or fifteen.

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aloud to the god that he would be pleased to accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for the heinous sacrilege committed, and that punishment might accordingly be withheld from the people. When this had been done before all the consecrated houses in the fortress, the body was given up to its relations, to be buried in the usual manner.

About four or five days after the above horrible immolation, this same Palavali was killed in a skirmish with the enemy. He went out again on a foraging excursion with about 30 or 40 men, not professed warriors, but men on whose courage and honour no reliance could be placed. They met with a smaller body of the enemy, but who were all staunch fighting men; in a very short time Palavali's men turned about to run away; he vainly endeavoured to rally them, and facing the enemy again to set them the example, he received several wounds and fell. At this moment his men also faced about, and seeing the perilous situation of their chief, became animated with courage, and drove the enemy a few paces back, whilst two or three picked him up and carried him to the fortress. When they arrived they proceeded to take out four spears which had pierced him, but he desired them to desist from so useless a task, as he was certain the gods had decreed his

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669 726 784 761 death as a punishment for his late offence. This too was the general opinion of the people, and was the subject of their conversation for a long time afterwards, contributing to spread a considerable gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali died about half an hour after he was brought home.

669 723 [728] [634] [726] [712] Finow already began to grow tired of the war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his genius, he loved rather a few hard fought engagements and a speedy conquest. The enemy shewed no disposition to come forth from their strong hold and attack him; and he had found by experience, that even the guns produced no sensible effect upon their fortification, situated upon an eminence, and defended by walls of clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he did not choose that his wish should be known, lest it should be attributed to fear or any other unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring about a peace, without being thought to *wish* for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this,

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[727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

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illness hourly increased, and feeling, as he said, a secret presentiment of approaching death, his female attendants ran out and informed his chiefs and matabooles, who in consequence immediately repaired to his house, and found him unable to speak; for as soon as he saw them he endeavoured in vain to give utterance to his ideas, and seemed choked by the vehemence of his inward emotions. At length a flood of tears coming to his relief, he acknowledged the justice of the gods, but lamented greatly that he was about to meet his death on a bed of sickness instead of going to brave it in the field of battle. After a little pause, he said in a calm but firm tone of voice, "I tremble at the approaching "fate of my country: for I perceive plainly, "that after my death the state of affairs will "be much altered for the worse. I have had "daily proofs that the obedience of my subjects "is not excited by their love but by their "fears."

Several chiefs and matabooles who, owing to the crowd, were not able to get into the house, but overheard what passed, went immediately to the priest of *Toobó Totái*, and presenting him cava root, sat down before him. An old mataboole then addressed him, stating that they had firm belief in the power which the gods possessed of inflicting what punishment

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they chose upon mortals: but he entreated the god to use his influence with the other powers of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at what Finow had said in the morning, which was merely spoken on the impulse of the moment, when warmly agitated with sentiments of affection for his daughter, and not from any real disrespect to the gods: he supplicated him also to have regard to the general good of the islands, and not by depriving them of Finow, to involve the whole nation in anarchy and confusion. The priest remained some time in silence, and was much affected: at length he announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a long time past, debated among themselves with regard to the punishment they should inflict upon Finow, for the many instances he had shewn of disobedience to religious precepts, and of exceeding disrespect for divine power; that they had at first resolved upon his death, but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods also took his part; in consequence of which there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo; not, as he explained to them, by actual fighting, for gods are immortal, and can neither be killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and potent arguments, which had occasioned, he said, the late high winds and tremendous thunder.

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der. That they had consequently come to a resolution of saving his life, seeing that his death would be a greater evil to his people than to himself, and of punishing him in another and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the death of his most dear and beloved daughter, who must therefore be inevitably taken from him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation, that either he or his daughter must die, her life could not be saved without taking away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he bade them remark that whilst Finow was at this time ill, his daughter was much better, and comparatively full of life and spirits, (which was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, her father would be tolerably well, for the gods had not decreed his immediate death, but only a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a sense of their power, and then his daughter would relapse, and become as bad or worse than ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the truths he had been telling them. When they arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat better, but did not communicate what they had heard from his priest. This however was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

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of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the ground, waiting for the commencement of the ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle, Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring house, and presented it there to the priest of *Toobo Totai*, out of respect to that god, who was now become the tutelar deity of the young prince. By the mouth of his priest the god desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should dare to rebel against a chief who was the peculiar care of the powers of Bolotoo? He commanded him moreover to reflect on the circumstances of his father's death, as a salutary lesson to himself: "Your father," said the divinity, "is now no more;—but why did he die?—be-"cause he was disrespectful to the gods!" The conference here ended. A short time after, the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sitting behind him in waiting, and who was much respected by the late king and his family, on account of her having given him some information respecting a real or supposed conspiracy, on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono, Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in consequence at Macave, and afterwards put to death: see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

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that his father, just before he was taken ill, had sent two men to her to procure a rope, (she having the care of a store-house,) with orders to bring it to him secretly. These two men, whose names were Toohengi and Boboto, (the former the son of Toobo Boogoo a priest, the latter a cook,) happening now to be present, the prince turned to them, and asked if they knew the purpose for which his father wanted this rope;—whom he meant to bind with it?—Hearing this question, Mr. Mariner, who was sitting close to him, exclaimed "What! "did you not know that he intended to bind "and afterwards to kill Toobo Tea, the priest "of Toobo Totai, to be revenged on this god "for not bringing about his daughter's re-"covery*?" This fact was afterwards confirmed by other persons, and particularly by certain warriors, who had actually received orders to seize Toobo Tea, and murder him. Thus was a plan of sacrilegious wickedness brought to light, which made all those who now heard it for the first time shudder at the mere thought: "No wonder!" (for such was the general ex-

* This intention of the king had only been cautiously whispered about, among a few chiefs and matabooles, that were constantly with him; and his sudden sickness and speedy death, which prevented him putting his threats into execution, had so occupied every body's thoughts, that the circumstance for a time was forgotten.

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634 661 761 784 clamation) "no wonder that he died! a chief "with such dreadful intentions!" Mr. Mariner then stated, in addition, that he had heard the king say more than once, (a few days before he died,) "How unmindful are the gods of my "welfare!—but no! it is not the decree of the "gods in general;—it is to that vexatious Too-"bo Totai, that I owe my misfortunes; he "does not exert himself for my good: but wait "a little, I'll be revenged! his priest shall not "live long*!"

634 661 The prince and his uncle, Finow Fiji, next held a consultation together respecting their mode of conduct, particularly in regard to certain chiefs, who were suspected of not being well disposed towards their family. Finow Fiji, for his own part, said, that he had no other wish than to coincide in whatever should seem likely to establish the peace and welfare of *Hafooloo How* (the name given to Vavaoo and all its neighbouring small islands, taken collectively), and that the only method of doing this would

[771 776] * Finow had often stated to Mr. Mariner his doubts that there were such beings as the gods:—he thought that men were fools to believe what the priests told them. Mr. Mariner expressed his wonder that he should doubt their existence, when he acknowledged that he had more than once felt himself inspired by the spirit of *Moomóe* (a former *How* of Tonga): "True!" replied the king, "there may be gods; but what the priests tell us about their power over mankind, I believe to be all false."

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in an elevated tone of voice, why they talked about the fear of chiefs; were they not his servants, and had he not a right to act with them as he pleased? He then took in his hand his musket from behind him, when the man who sat next immediately declared, that, if he made any resistance, he would die in opposing him, rather than allow him to escape: upon this, Mr. Mariner summoned up all his strength, and struck him a most violent blow, or rather stab, near the loins, with the muzzle of the piece, exclaiming at the same time, "*Ta gi ho Hotooa, "co ho mate e**." This lunge produced a dangerous wound, for the musket, being a very old one, had grown quite sharp at the muzzle, and was, besides, impelled by the uncommon force with which, inspired by the prospect of escape, he felt himself animated: the man immediately fell flat in the bottom of the canoe, senseless, and scarcely with a groan†. Mr. Mariner in-

* Meaning, literally, "Strike your Hotooa, there's your "death!" which are forms of energetic expressions, used like oaths, on extraordinary occasions, calculated to express vengeance.

† This man, whose name was Teoo Fononga, well deserved the fate he met with: he used to beat his wife unmercifully, for which Mr. Mariner had frequently knocked him down with a club: he formerly had a wife who, in time of scarcity, he killed and ate: since that time having several children, more than he wished, he killed a couple of them to get them out of the way. His best qualities were being an excellent fisherman, and a very hard-working fellow.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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his situation. He has no house dedicated to him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself about; and, on such occasions, the people give loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who can go there and see?

Such is the account they give of their gods, and the respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and so universal, that scarcely any instance is known of downright impiety; and indeed they have very strong motives to keep them in proper order in this respect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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565 761 ways some purposes of ambition or enjoyment yet to be satisfied; and when death does come, it is rather to be wished for in the field of battle than prostrate on a mat, overcome with pain and disease, in the midst of one's friends and relatives weeping and lamenting.

778 The next subject in order to speak of, is the origin of the habitable earth, which, according to their notions, vague as they are, is as follows:—It is believed that originally there was no land above the water but the island of Bolotoo, which, like the gods, the heavenly bodies, and the ocean, has probably always been. One day Tangaloa, the god of arts and inventions, went forth to fish in the great ocean, and having from the sky let down his hook and line into the sea, on a sudden he felt a great resistance: believing that he had caught an immense fish, he exerted his strength, and presently there appeared above the surface several points of rocks, which increased in number and extent the more he drew in his line: the rocky bottom of the ocean, in which it was now evident his hook had caught, was thus fast advancing to the surface, so as to have made one vast continent; when unfortunately the line broke, and the islands of Tonga remain to shew the imperfection of Tangaloa's attempt. The rock in [823] which the hook was fixed was already above the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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sidered it all concentrated in their chief god. They firmly believe that the gods approve of virtue, and are displeased with vice; that every man has his tutelar deity, who will protect him as long as he conducts himself as he ought to do; but, if he does not, will leave him to the approaches of misfortune, disease, and death. And here we find some ground on which to establish a virtuous line of conduct: but this is not sufficient: there is implanted in the human breast a knowledge or sentiment which enables us sometimes, if not always, to distinguish between the beauty of disinterestedness and the foul ugliness of what is low, sordid, and selfish; and the effect of this sentiment is one of the strongest marks of character in the natives of these islands. Many of the chiefs, on being asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had for conducting themselves with propriety, besides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied, the agreeable and happy feeling which a man experiences within himself when he does any good action, or conducts himself nobly and generously, as a man ought to do: and this question they answered as if they wondered such a question should be asked. After this, we cannot but suppose (unless we are led by prejudice), that the seeds of very great virtues are implanted in their breasts; and it would be very unrea-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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As it is forbidden to quarrel or fight upon consecrated ground, so fighting in such a place would be said to be *táboo*, and those that fought would be said also to be *táboo*; and a man who is thus *táboo* would have to make some sacrifice to the gods as an atonement for the sacrilege, as instanced in Palavali's case. (See Vol. I. p. 216.) If a man be guilty of theft, or any crime whatsoever, he is said to have broken the *táboo*; and as all such persons are particularly supposed liable to be bitten by sharks, an awkward mode of discovering a thief is founded upon this notion, by making all the suspected persons go into the water, where sharks frequent, and he who is bitten or devoured is looked upon as the guilty person. If any one touches a superior chief, or superior relation, or any thing immediately belonging to him, he *táboos* himself; but this is not supposed to produce any bad consequence, unless he feeds himself with his own hands, without first removing this *táboo*, which is to be done by performing the ceremony of *mívë-móë*, directly to be explained. If a person touches the body of a dead chief, or any thing personally belonging to him, he becomes *taboo*, and time alone can relieve him. (See note, Vol. I. p. 141.) Certain kinds of food, as turtle, and a certain species of fish, from something in their nature, are said to be

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad. 892

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [485] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarily evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 431 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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inquired into the cause of the uproar; and they told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that the island had been shaken, because the giant mowe, who supported it upon his shoulders, was become weary with his burden, and was beginning to fall asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition: but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

They supposed also that every man had an odooa or particular spirit attending him; and when any thing wonderful excited their attention respecting us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye awa koo odooa fogee!" "O dear, he has a spirit!" The odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions the death of the person. It is to render him propitious that the relations so often wound themselves, and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the language, I extended my acquaintance, and was the companion of the chiefs in most of their expeditions and excursions. They much respected me, and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair. When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which I would cut twenty branches and send them as a present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

DEATH

761 For the villager as for all other humans death at last comes to cut short the span of life. The patterns of behaviour that he has elaborated to enable him to handle this crisis are again a mixture of the new and the old. They may be most clearly described by showing the way they control the behaviour of a group of relatives when the household head dies.

763 784 593 When the father is dying, it is *tapu* for his children to come into the house in which the sick man is lying, or dying. The mother may attend the dying man, but not the children. This is part of the general set of *tapu* that govern the relation of father to children. The remains of the father's food, for example, or his drinking-nut, are *tapu* to his children. Children must not touch the father's head. A child being played with or fondled by the father may not eat food at the same time. It is *tapu* for a child to wear the father's *vala*.

763 [593] [602] The dying man therefore, is attended by his wife and by relatives of himself and his wife. They shake the man to keep him alive. They pray over the man, use whatever medicines are suggested. But the dying man may speak, he may say that he has been mean or deceitful to someone. In this case, the situation is considered pretty hopeless.

764 When it is evident that life has finally ebbed away, the wife closes her husband's eyes and mouth. She wipes the body with warm water, rubs it with coconut-oil, dresses the corpse in " best " clothes. Bark cloth is wrapped round the chest. Mats are spread in the middle of the house, bark cloth is placed on top, and a pillow. Then the corpse is laid on this " bed " and covered up to the chin with the finest mats that the household can find. Close relatives, dressed in their ceremonial skirts sit round the corpse, fanning it to keep away flies, and keeping up a continuous wailing and chanting *(tangi)*. This is generally continued all night long. Just after daylight breaks, the man's children are allowed into [593] the house for a moment to give the deceased one last greeting in the form of a kiss *(uma)*. The corpse is then wrapped in a five fathom length of bark cloth, placed on a wooden frame and carried to the village cemetery for burial.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt. He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the evening and all night long, members of the church, of the family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*-circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day mourning period.

This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion in which an immature infant may be buried as compared with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered, however, that the family of the dead child had apparent right to be more casual than most village families would have been in similar circumstances. This was their fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and hence the parents could probably expect further deaths among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents. Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience. Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is unexpected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

MEDICINE

For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the village. He consents to treatment from the white doctor only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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762 from such a height, even if the body struck the water only.

And here let me digress on the subject of suicide. The rough average rate of suicide in the Pacific—the figures dealt with are too insignificant for unvarying accuracy—is about equal to the rate for the United Kingdom, viz., .006 per *mille* of the population; but since most of the suicides in Europe are committed under the influence of manic or

Mourning.

extreme misery,—conditions that are generally absent in these favoured isles,—we may assume that the Pacific islanders have a predisposition towards self-destruction. The usual causes are lovers' quarrels, and the fear of being 762 neglected in incurable illness. In the latter case suicide 761 is a mere survival of the old custom that constrained a sick man to importune his relations to strangle or bury him alive,—itself an evolution from an earlier time when

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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the existence of a family depended upon its having no disabled members to protect. The lovers' quarrels that result in suicide are quite as trivial as those of civilised communities. On the sudden impulse of some slight misunderstanding the distressed lover resorts to the picturesque but inadequate method of climbing to the top of a cocoa-nut-palm and jumping off, with the usual result of a broken limb, a reconciliation with the beloved object, and permanent lameness. Of late years the cocoa-nut-tree has become less fashionable for men who are in earnest. These generally prefer a precipice, or, if their despair be of the more deliberate kind, poison, which, being a mere infusion of bark or leaves, must be drunk in such large quantity that it more often produces vomiting than death. The ancient mode of execution in Tonga—putting the condemned adrift in leaky canoes—still occasionally survives as a method of suicide. In February a schooner, bound from Niuatobutabu to Nukualofa, picked up a derelict canoe floating unharmed, with her paddles and baler in her, and a crumpled letter which ran as follows:—

162 78982
810 6126 74 m2 127216 m2 892 162 9812 74 m2 m274
b4 810 m2 892 16274 16m807850 892 270
1820 2m454 m8 232.

The schooner's crew connected their discovery with the disappearance of two girls from Niua a few days before; but, not knowing the cipher, they brought the letter to the capital and handed it to Kubu. Tukuaho at once declared it to be written in a cipher known to most of

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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as picturesque. Moreover, a man cannot very well strangle himself without help. A pretence of hanging is much resorted to by people who imagine themselves to be misunderstood, or who wish to frighten their friends into making some concession, because a dramatic effect can be produced with the least possible personal inconvenience.

Yet whenever confederates can be found to help, the South Sea Islander appears to prefer strangling to hanging. In Fiji a few years ago, when Australia was ringing with the achievements of the Kelly gang of bushrangers, a trader in Vanualevu, with the aid of a Sydney newspaper, was entertaining a gaping circle of Fijians by trying to make their flesh creep. In the minds of two of his listeners, youths from the neighbouring village, the seed fell upon a rich soil. Why should they be condemned to this life of spiritless toil in subjection to their chiefs and the Government, compelled to drudge in the fields and the tax-plantations, while the free, glorious bush lay behind them? If these foreigners, who could not exist without tinned meats, could live in the bush, how much more they who only wanted a wild yam or kaile roasted on the embers of an open fire? They could rob all the foreigners' stores, and with the plunder tempt the girls of the village to come and join them, and they would eat tinned meats and turkeys and fowls every day without having to pay for them or work to make money. They discreetly opened their project to one of their friends, but when he understood the full daring of the scheme he modestly withdrew, in words that were translated by the magistrate who afterwards held the inquest as, "Pardon me, but this thing is beyond my capacity."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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stitutions. If their young men wanted excitement, there was Fiji: there they might have their fill of war and rapine, but in Tonga they must obey the chiefs set over them by the gods or brave the consequence of the broken *tabu*. In those days no Tongan had dared to test the belief. It was not a superstition. They had seen men die whom they knew to have infringed a *tabu*, and others, cursed by some enemy, had withered away before their eyes. Thus was royal authority strengthened by physical fear—ever the strongest influence with the mob.[1]

For sixty years the land was at peace. They built great tombs for their chiefs, and turned the islands into vast gardens, so that there was abundance, and rich portions of the first-fruits were presented to the gods. Then Moungatonga, the Tui-Haatakalaua, took the Samoan woman Tohuia to wife, and when her son Ngata grew to manhood, Moungatonga grew wearied with the weight of authority, and charged him with the dominion of the people, while he withdrew himself into the honoured obscurity of rank without power. The new temporal king took his title from the sacred soil of Kanokubolu

[1] Now that the bugbear of the *tabu* has been put to flight before the light of Christianity, they have preserved the belief in a changed form. They believe that he who swears falsely, after kissing the Bible, must die. In 1886 a house was burned down by an incendiary, and before the courts could interfere, all the villagers met together for a trial by ordeal. A Bible was brought, and each person took a solemn oath that he or she was innocent of the crime. They took no interest in the judicial inquiry, feeling sure that the culprit would die within a few weeks. Not long afterwards an elderly woman named Ana began to sicken and refuse her food. She grew rapidly worse, and at last confessed that, in a fit of jealousy, she had set fire to the house of her rival. Her end was hastened by the warnings of her relations that if she was guilty of perjury she had no chance of recovery. She was fairly frightened to death.

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
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775 787 dead may cause much trouble to the living. The poor ghost longs for companionship that it has lost, and wanders forth to seek its old friends, and induce them to come with it. It enters, or approaches, the body of a living friend, usually by the way a hysterical woman, and she may become so violent and excited that several people are required to hold her. A girl in this condition gave a man a good bite in the side; but this exhibition of her powers did not deter him from afterwards marrying her. Perhaps the possessed woman may lie inert, taking no notice of what is said to her. She may tell the onlookers that so-and-so wants her to go with her. One way of treating the trouble is to knead the patient with the knuckles, to press the intruder out. I know a man who chased a ghost round the body of a woman with hot-water packs.

775 753 [761] [774] Fainting fits may be due to the attentions of ghosts. A person in a faint is said to be *mate*, dead. I have heard an unconscious child spoken of as distant, or away; apparently the soul was away.

Massage is not the only remedy. There are leaves which are 775 755 757 787 potent layers of ghosts. Tongan treatment is homœopathic, and the effective leaves have a strong smell. They are said to *namu tevolo*, smell like a ghost or spirit; consequently they have the power of scaring off ghosts. A decoction is made of the leaves, and the juice pressed into ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth, and perhaps rubbed on the body. Ghosts cannot pass the barrier thus set up. There seems to be no apprehension lest the ghost be imprisoned inside the patient. When the patient weeps quietly that is a sign of recovery. Her tears are in sorrowful farewell to her dead friend who is leaving her.

Procedure is simplified by the patient's telling the name of the ghost. The sick girl may not herself know who it is that is so unkindly affectionate, but sometimes she sees the ghost in a dream 778 769 or in a waking vision, or recognises its voice. Armed with this identification of the intruder, friends visit the grave, and beseech the dead to leave the living alone. There is not a set form of words to be used; respectful remonstrance, threat, anything is in order that may be supposed to be effective. Sometimes the grave is opened and medicine leaves put on the body. A very drastic remedy is to pour boiling sea-water on the grave, though this is not necessarily more effective than turning the bones about and mixing them up. If the head is put where the feet ought to be, and the legs where one would expect to find the head, the cleverest ghost is unable to get itself 775 sorted out and in shape for walking. Ghostly visitations are not always an occasion of sickness. They may be manifested in mysterious lights. People are rather ashamed of having their dead relatives walking about. Neighbours are inclined to judge harshly, and to conclude that the spirit is failing to make good its entry into heaven, and is exhibiting a not unnatural reluctance to take the final

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plunge into the other place. Tongans are of course unaware of the amiable company that Mr. Bernard Shaw assures us is there.

The solicitations of dead friends does not at all exhaust the possibilities of ghostly interference with the health of the living. Almost any sickness may as well be due to ghosts as to anything else. A girl who lives with a European family in a place where there is a good deal of bush about, happened to cough in the presence of a wise old lady, and was submitted to the following diagnostic examination. "Do you cough much?" "Yes, I cough a good deal." "Do you sleep by yourself?" "Yes, I have a room to myself." "In the dark?" "Yes." "Ah, that is it. In the bush, by yourself, in the dark. Ghosts. Now what you must do is to put a tent of native-cloth round your bed, and sleep inside that with a lighted lamp."

Writers have commented on the simplicity of ghosts, and indeed they seem pretty easy to deceive. A precaution that is not without tender pathos is sometimes taken with women who die in childbirth, or whilst they have a child at the breast. A *tappa* mallet is laid on the dead woman's arm, so that she may suppose that her babe is with her, and so rest peacefully and not go and take her child away. But in spite of all precautions a ghost sometimes breaks through our guards. A man goes to sleep in apparently robust health, and in the morning is found dead. A ghost has come in the night and throttled him, and witnesses are not wanting to testify to marks on his throat. Such a death would perhaps be attributed to conduct which had offended the ghosts.

In earlier days it was extremely common to sacrifice a joint of the little finger on behalf of a sick friend, and in the case of a high chief who was seriously ill a human victim might be offered. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl on behalf of the chief Finau, and I have myself spoken to a man whose mother was an eye-witness of the sacrifice of a man to secure the recovery of a sick chief. In both cases the victim was strangled, and in both cases, too, the patient dishonoured the remedy by dying.

Besides the wide and indefinite number of sicknesses attributable to the misguided affection or malevolence of spirits, a very large range of disorders is classified as *fasi*, a breaking. There seems to be an analogy with the known phenomena of broken bones and strained muscles. The sprains which are amenable to the excellent massage are called twisted sinew, but these supposed breakings are most varied in character, and as indefinite as the illnesses resulting from the pranks of ghosts. The aches caused by lung troubles are supposed to be caused by some sort of internal rupture, and treated accordingly; both internal and externally. As as cure for an aching back massaging is likely to prove effective, even if the decoctions of

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 796 few people except about twenty who stood up in the end of a road that opens into the Area, who kept constantly repeating a sentence in a mournfull tone which convey'd some Idea of distress and that they call'd for something. This which they call ooee[1] was continued about an hour and in the mean time many people came down the road they stood in, each of whom laid a Yam before them or a bunch of ripe Plantanes wrapp'd up while others brought baskets whose contents we did not see. They then mov'd a little farther and continued the cry some time when they advanc'd a little more & sat down, the Yams &c being mov'd along with them each time. The whole amounting to 250 then got up and pass'd in slow procession before Poulaho, who sat on the grass, some carying the yams &c and others nothing but every one had either a club or spear in his hand. They pass'd on to the single Fya'tocka on the mount mention'd before & laid the things down but appear'd to have some reluctance in letting us pass that way, though we could see no reason why the whole should seem to be made so mysterious.

[481] At present we saw there was an end to the Ceremony but were informd something else was to be done in the afternoon, and accordingly after dinner they told us that we must not walk in any of the roads except that which led down to the boat, or else if we were seen there was people who would knock us down with clubs which they said was also the case with themselves. We however transgress'd a little and really saw no person in the roads though many were looking through the fences, but at the large Fya'tocka near Poulahos house there was a great many men collected together, whom we shortly after saw to the number of six hundred walking by pairs in [482] procession through the principal roads. Each pair had a long pole which they carried on the shoulders as if with a heavy burden, but they had only three bits of sticks or small yams about the thickness of a finger and six inches long tied to the under part. We were only 651 796 permitted to look at these through the fences, and as the mysterious- ness seem'd to increase we urg'd Poulaho to be present at the cere- mony, but he made several excuses by saying we must undress and 123 go cloath'd like them and that we would not be able to sit long enough [784] in a requisite posture, in either of which cases he alledg'd that if we [761] transgress'd God would certainly kill him.

He however said that we should see everything that pass'd through a fence, and order'd some people to take us to an inclosure adjoining the Area of the Fyatocka where the Yams were carried to in the fore- noon. The fence unluckily happen'd to be of that sort which is quite

[1] ai, to call out.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very custom as expressing its singularity.

From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these mourning and religious ceremonys are executed one would expect to find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future punishment for faults comitted in this life. They however believe that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them. The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga[1] who they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder, winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence. They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection, though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

[1] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289–90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a [793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods [787] in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

782 304 755

> January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain. (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 731 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of dead relatives.

753 761 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of 778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other [793] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3). The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec. 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being [668] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement. (Martin 1827, I:190).

775 [565] Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

/84 cont./

165 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)
163
161
(113)

240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. (744) Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga (842) in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

844 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it
178 still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although
177 growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling
177 of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European
178 material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build,
343 as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also